

Message Text

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SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF OCTOBER 23, 1974

(SALT TWO - 477)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR
JOHNSON AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF OCTOBER 23, 1974.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON

OCTOBER 23, 1974

MR. MINISTER:

I

OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE REACHED ACCORD AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL
THAT A NEW AGREEMENT LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS UNTIL 1985

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SHOULD DEAL WITH BOTH QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS.

I HAVE PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED WITH YOU THAT THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES QUANTITATIVE LIMITATIONS SHOULD BE HANDLED THROUGH PHASED MUTUAL REDUCTIONS OF ICBM LAUNCHERS, SLBM LAUNCHERS, AND HEAVY BOMBERS TO A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE COMMON LOWER LEVEL -- THAT IS AN EQUAL LEVEL.

I BELIEVE BOTH SIDES ARE IN AGREEMENT THAT EQUITABLE QUANTITATIVE LIMITATIONS ALONE, HOWEVER NECESSARY, WOULD BY THEMSELVES FAIL TO ENSURE AN ENDURING STRATEGIC BALANCE FOR THE PERIOD TO BE COVERED BY THE NEW AGREEMENT. THE UNITED STATES HAS PROPOSED THAT THERE BE LIMITATIONS ON THROW-WEIGHT, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT HEAVY BOMBER PAYLOAD, IN ORDER TO CONSTRAIN THE DESTRUCTIVE CAPABILITY OF CENTRAL STRATEGIC SYSTEMS. THE OTHER QUALITATIVE LIMITATION ADVANCED BY THE UNITED STATES CONCERNS MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES.

II

I BELIEVE BOTH SIDES ARE ALSO IN AGREEMENT THAT MIRVS REPRESENT A KEY QUALITATIVE ELEMENT IN THE STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. IF WE WERE TO LEAVE UNCONSTRAINED THE DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT OF MIRVED SYSTEMS, THEN THE ARMS COMPETITION WOULD HAVE AN OPEN CHANNEL IN THIS QUALITATIVE ASPECT. SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD NOT SERVE THE INTERESTS OF EITHER SIDE.

OVER AN EXTENDED PERIOD, WE HAVE STRESSED THE POTENTIALLY DISRUPTIVE EFFECT WHICH UNCONSTRAINED MIRV DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT WOULD HAVE ON THE STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. I HAVE AFFIRMED THAT OUR INTEREST IN LIMITING THIS POTENTIAL AVENUE FOR AN ARMS COMPETITION HAS NOT DIMINISHED.

THE UNITED STATES HAS SET FORTH THE VIEW THAT ANY NEW AGREEMENT SHOULD PROVIDE FOR EACH SIDE TO POSSESS, AND BE SEEN TO POSSESS, SUFFICIENT SECURE AND SURVIVABLE STRATEGIC FORCES SO THAT NO INCENTIVE EXISTS TO INITIATE THE USE OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. DURING THESE NEGOTIATIONS WE HAVE POINTED OUT THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO PRESERVE THE SURVIVABILITY OF DETERRENT FORCES OF BOTH SIDES AND THEREBY ENHANCE STRATEGIC STABILITY AND REDUCE THE RISK OF NUCLEAR WAR. INDEED, THE MIRVING OF ICBMS WITH A CAPACITY TO CARRY A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF LARGE REENTRY VEHICLES COULD HAVE A DESTA-

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BILIZING EFFECT.

THE UNITED STATES STANDS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE EQUITABLE LIMITATIONS ON THE DEPLOYMENT OF CURRENT MIRVS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW MIRVS. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT SUCH LIMITATIONS WOULD SERVE THE INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES. THEY WOULD CONTRIBUTE SUBSTANTIALLY TO ACHIEVING OUR AGREED GOAL OF QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS IN AN AGREEMENT LASTING UNTIL 1985. THEY WOULD SERVE TO REDUCE THE

MOMENTUM OF THE ARMS COMPETITION. THEY WOULD SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCE UNCERTAINTIES AND THUS ENHANCE THE STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. THEY COULD PERMIT BOTH SIDES TO REALIZE SAVINGS IN RESOURCES WHICH COULD BE DIVERTED TO OTHER USES FOR THE BENEFIT OF BOTH OUR PEOPLES.

III

IF OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE SOVIET POSITION IS CORRECT, THERE IS AGREEMENT BETWEEN OUR TWO SIDES THAT LIMITATIONS SHOULD BE PLACED ON MIRVED MISSILE LAUNCHERS IN AN AGREEMENT LASTING UNTIL 1985. THUS IT FOLLOWS THAT TOGETHER WE SHOULD DEVELOP AN APPROACH WHICH WILL ENABLE US TO ADVANCE FROM AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO THE REALIZATION OF SPECIFIC, EQUITABLE, STABILIZING AND VERIFIABLE LIMITATIONS ON THESE SYSTEMS.

FOR ITS PART, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT SHOULD LIMIT THE NUMBER OF MIRVED MISSILE LAUNCHERS, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT BOTH THE THROW-WEIGHT AND THE NUMBER OF REENTRY VEHICLES OF PERMITTED MIRV SYSTEMS. WE HAVE TAKEN THIS POSITION BECAUSE THE IMPACT OF MIRVED MISSILES ON THE STABILITY OF THE STRATEGIC BALANCE BETWEEN OUR TWO SIDES DEPENDS NOT ONLY ON THE NUMBER OF MIRVED MISSILES, BUT ALSO ON BOTH THEIR THROW-WEIGHT AND THE NUMBER OF THEIR REENTRY VEHICLES.

SUCH AN APPROACH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE POTENTIAL CAPABILITIES OF DIFFERING SYSTEMS ON BOTH SIDES. WE BELIEVE THAT FAILURE TO TAKE THESE POTENTIAL CAPABILITIES INTO ACCOUNT WOULD NOT PROVIDE AN EQUITABLE BASIS FOR DEVELOPING APPROPRIATE LIMITATIONS.

IV

MR. MINISTER, I WOULD WELCOME FROM THE SOVIET DELEGATION ITS VIEW ON HOW THE QUALITATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF MIRVED SYSTEMS ON
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EACH SIDE SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION IN A NEW AGREEMENT. IN PARTICULAR, I LOOK FORWARD TO A RESPONSE BY THE SOVIET SIDE WITH REGARD TO OUR CONCEPT THAT IN ESTABLISHING LIMITATIONS ON MIRVED MISSILE LAUNCHERS, THE THROW-WEIGHT AND NUMBER OF REENTRY VEHICLES OF PERMITTED MIRVED SYSTEMS SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.
JOHNSON

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